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527 Sinyella took up a position beside Rock Jones, a shaman who
535 carried the drum, facing a pole set up at the center of the dance ground.
Here they sang. Rock Jones wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the
[301] back of his belt; a mask-like band of brown paint was drawn across his
[302] eyes. Others hesitated to join, until one old woman, bursting into an exhortation to dance, set an example. The circle of dancers, men and women interspersed (*dj̇ikhidj̇i'kipa*, dove-tailed), stood shoulder to shoulder holding hands, with the drummer usually within the circle. In joining hands the backs are in contact and the fingers dove-tailed.
[533] The dancers stood while singing the phrase several times, until all had caught the rhythm; then they began moving slowly in a sinistral circuit with a short, sidewise shuffling step. The legs were held nearly straight, though a slight swaying movement was given to the trunk; there was no stamping or accentuation of steps. Drumming consisted of single thumps
[533] marking each step, without any preliminary or concluding beats. The dancing continued for several minutes, until the circle had returned to its initial position for the third or fourth time. While they stood for some minutes the composition of the group changed. During such intervals the two chiefs and Rock Jones, the shaman, harangued the crowd, which was not particularly attentive. Four hours passed before the dancing became spirited and nearly continuous, when the greatest number of dancers, twenty-seven, were engaged. Only about a third of those present danced; the non-dancers were chiefly the oldest women, young children, and some middle-aged men. Children of eight or nine took part, and even several persons with physical infirmities were encouraged to dance and shown marked consideration. The older women at least know the dance songs as well as the men.

During the dance a grotesquely masked lad (*gl̇idj̇'ad*) dashed into the group, scattering the children. His function is to frighten non-participants into dancing. He beckons them to enter with the switches he carries; if they fail to heed he drags or scourges them into the circle. On this occasion he used the switches on children and dogs, went through a pantomime of shooting them with a gun, and pretended fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His trunk was painted with black and white
[302] horizontal stripes; he wore short black trousers with torn, flapping legs, and a white cloth mask. This was a bag drawn in about the neck, having short sticks to which down was attached fixed like horns in the upper corners. Round eye and mouth holes were cut and marked on the face. In each hand he carried a willow branch.

The dance broke up at nightfall, families leaving without formality. The drum was abandoned on the dance ground. Nearly every adult and

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time.

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*hinly*", meaning "after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamicka, a chief, delivered a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers completed with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 2:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; their food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakidge, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the assembled crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Everything in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had wands hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year.

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 8 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief exhibited the sunbeam about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length.

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes transually crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m.

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*gwaflíjdéwá*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwaflíjdéwáčí'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 597 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Ikyámátvi	mi'dvúhag'ÍÍ	dúyÍnikyédjÍk
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live

ihánigwayóhag'ÍÍ	ma'dvúhag'ÍÍ
I want always to live well	ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kakí'i* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kakáta*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamiks at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjává (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjává dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

[1] About 1900 Jones saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance adventist, acting as a song leader, (b), 283.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Ech, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have resemblance in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Shoshone which I have heard.

iniyō'kā ne he he ha iniyō'kā ne' e' e 533 ●
he' remains still 539

iniyō'kā ne he he ha iniyō'kā ne' e' e
yoviqówa ste'e'e iqyówā ste'e'e

He dreamed he was in another country, where a cooling wind blew and girls in a little circle danced:—

mātwiyōcwatnowé'e
A fresh wind in that land

mātwiyōcwatnowé'e
mā·ldjāhalyanyowé'e
girls circle around

mā·ldjāhalyanyowé'e
mātvādjima'wēvowé'e

He dreamed he went to a strange land, where men continually danced while singing this song:—

wiyāmā[h] wiyāmódjaiyē[h]
go away somewhere hungry

wiyāmā[h] wiyāmodjai'yē[h]
wiyāmodji[h] wiyāmodjioma'anā
wiyāmodji[h] wiyāmodjioma'anā

The same man also composed the two songs which follow:—

ai'iwi ai'iwi'i'i

aa'ādjódja djigānamé hādjāwiyē'māwāmāmé'e
girls alongside circle around
aa'ādjódja djigānamé hādjāwiyē'māwāmāmé'e

n,adjāwi'i hin,adjāwu'i hin,adjāwi'in
I do it

hāmdā'adja hagan,an,owi
I am the man who names (himself ?)

hādjan,aqa haviyin,ówē
girls stand alongside

The following song, typical of a class, is thought to be of Navaho origin:

ya'o'o'o
neya'o'o'o (repeat four times) neya'o'iqwé
'Inevēq
neya'o'o'o (repeat twice) neya'o'iqwé
'Inēyuqā hoéwinā hoéwe

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533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

527 535 In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

530 At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

177 535 769 There can be no question that this dance antedates both the California ghost dance of 1870–72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.[1] The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.[2] After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practised only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a 177 769 775 Paiute shaman, named Panámántá (Panamint?), living near St. George, Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Mannkadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.[3]

Masked Dance

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gidji'ns*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

[1] Mooney, (b), 820, 991.
[2] Ibid. 811, 818.
[3] James, (b), 256.

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177 535 songs, the references to the dead. Two opposing lines, one of men and the other of women are formed, stationed a meter and a half apart.[1] The song leader, carrying a rattle, stands in the center of the men's line. All stand singing for a short time, then when all are in unison, [533] the men walk forward three meters, the women retreating before them; then the men walking backward with the women following, they return to their original positions, and so on. The steps are usually short, with the body upright, but there is some variation and at times the dancers are bent over. In one form both lines face about after a few steps and proceed in the same direction, but now the men walk backward instead of forward as they started, the women are reversed, and the lines are back to back. The song ends with ha' ha' ha' ha, while the rattling is rapidly continued for a short time after the song ends.

The Walapai ceremony from which this dance is copied may occur at any time.[2] 177 It may be inaugurated by anyone who (informally?) asks the consent of the chiefs. 535 It is held in mourning for the recently deceased, as in July, 1919 for those who had died 765 of influenza during the preceding winter. In September of the same year a prominent Walapai sent invitations to the Havasupai, among others, to join in mourning for his [648] oldest brother, nephew, and several other relatives. The day of the ceremony is given over to gaming and horseracing. A large shade is erected and enclosed with sheeting, ribbons, and bunting. Within this the chiefs harangue through an entire night, while the people weep. The dance described above is held outside. Eight to fifteen songs are thus sung; then all stop to rest and mourn. During these intervals the inaugurator of the dance and the chiefs address the crowd. In the morning the shade is tumbled down, the sheeting, etc., together with new clothing, is thrown on the pile, and the whole burned. All then leave the locality with the exception of the inaugurator who remains to watch the fire. The Havasupai who attend do not mourn [648] for their own dead but for the Walapai.

In view of this opposition, it is interesting to note how this dance 177 takes root. Singing practice is a common evening pastime of the younger 535 men. For instance, on one occasion twenty men, ranging in age from [533] fifteen to thirty-five, danced to the Mohave songs from a few hours after sundown until just before dawn. Foster, who knew the songs and steps best, carried the rattle. The procedure followed that of the regular dance, but it was evident that the song was being learned before it was tried with the step. The only older man present was Kâ'âdâ, who had invited the men to dance in his field and openly encouraged them. His sole position in the Havasupai world is due to his being a mild-mannered friend of everyone. The Mohave dance was given in the yearly dance as described above at the behest of the aggressive Captain Jim, who

[1] I do not know whether partners are chosen. My notes also do not specify, but as I recall, they did not join hands.

[2] Annually, according to Curtis, II, 68.

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171 tribes use a notched rasp or other substitute for the drum, but it is
535 specified that no drum is used by the Gosiute and Uintah Ute. Nor is it
[534] used by the Lemhi in the *Nuakin* and the Wind River Shoshoni in the
Navaga, although it is used by them in very similar dances, and no drum
is mentioned in connection with the Moapa and Shivwits accounts.

Masked performers are characteristic of Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho
171 ceremonials, and perhaps of other Southwestern tribes, as they are to the
535 south in Mexico. Without a complete knowledge of these, comparisons
532 with the Havasupai dancers cannot be attempted. I note, however, that sack-like masks are used by the Zuñi, White Mountain Apache, and Navaho.[1] Masks probably do not occur to the north and west although there is something of the sort among the Pomo and their neighbors. The Pueblo dancers also carry branches in their hands.

The Mohave dance is the Bear dance of the Basin tribes. This is
171 known, at least by another name, to the Moapa and Shivwits Paiute,[2]
535 Southern Ute, Uintah Ute, Wind River[3] and Lemhi Shoshoni, the Paviotso-Shoshoni of the Duck River Reservation,[4] and, according to Southern Ute information, to the Navaho and (Jicarilla?) Apache. My information adds the Havasupai, Walapai, and, by inference, the Mohave. There is even some suggestion of it in the Yuma mourning ceremony.[5]

The dancers are always of both sexes, but not always segregated in two lines that face each other. The Moapa, for example, form couples or trios facing or dancing abreast; in the Wind River Bear dance, at least, trios always face their partners; Lemhi men and women form only one line. Uintah performers sometimes dance as couples, as well as in line formation. The step is always the same; the lines trot to and fro, save that the Northern Ute advance toward each other. Partners are chosen by the women in most cases (Southern Ute, Northern Ute, Wind River Bear dance), but either sex may choose among the Lemhi, in the Wind River *saraipinara*, and sometimes among the Moapa. The Havasupai do not dance as partners, so far as I know.

The principal departure of the Havasupai dance from the others is
171 in the musical accompaniment. All the others use the notched rasp.
533 In fact, the Havasupai use of the rattle, stationing the leader who bears it in the middle of the line, ending the song with the ejaculation ha' ha'

[1] Pueblo Indian Fathers, 309, 388; the Mohave have no masks (Kroeber, (a), 768). The Pima and the Yaqui of Sonora make use of wooden ones (Russell, (d), 167); Chief Dance in Arizona, 67.
[2] Lowie, (i), 209–301.
[3] Lowie, (f), 823–831.
[4] Lowie, (n), 219.
[5] "... Opposite lines of Indians, who in the day-time march to and fro over the open ground. One person is provided with grotesque clay images . . . Head upon poles and carried high in the air by young braves. An old squaw walking back wards and handfuls of corn upon the images . . ." (Trippel, 6).

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ha', and continuing with rapid rattling after the end of the song, are all clearly taken over from the Pueblos.[1]

A few further points will bring out the nature of this dance complex, though they do not pertain particularly to the Havasupai. The time at which the dance is held is much the same: Lemhi, spring; Northern Ute, February or March; Southern Ute, very early spring; Wind River Shoshoni, to bring warm weather. Lowie observed the Moapa dance in August, however.

A refusal to dance nets a whipping among the Southern Ute and Moapa. It is more serious for the Duck River man, who will be overtaken by death, and the Lemhi, who will be killed by a bear. In the Klamath Ghost dance, one who failed to dance would be turned to stone. The Moapa, Uintah, and Wind River dances terminate when someone falls exhausted; the Uintah believe that the bear will help such a one in sickness and the Wind River, that the dancer must imitate the bear lest he be killed by him.

The Uintah and Southern Ute erect a circular brush enclosure for the dance; the Wind River, Shoshoni, Moapa, Havasupai, and Walapai do not.

There is some suggestion of the history of this dance. The Ute are credited as the source of their dance by the Duck River people and by some Wind River Shoshoni. The Shivwits state that it has been recently introduced from the Uintah Ute, the Moapa receiving it in turn about 1910–12. The dance among the several Ute divisions is, to be sure, the most serious affair. The Shivwits have also recently added this dance to their mourning ceremony,[2] similar to the Walapai and perhaps the Mohave and Yuma practice. But the mourning ceremony came from California, reaching the Moapa perhaps fifty or sixty years ago and the Shivwits much later. Are we to assume that the Mohave did not have this dance, or at least include it in the mourning ceremony, until that time? The association of the two corresponds to the change noted by Powers as having occurred in 1860–70 among the Miwok, who introduced or substituted dancing and dirges for the annual cry. His brief description suggests the Bear dance: "others, with arms locked, pace to and fro in a beaten path."[3] The suggestion is that the mourning ceremony was spreading eastward and northward from the Mohave; the Bear dance westward and southward from the Ute. So far as the Walapai are con-

[1] De Huis notes a similar suppression among a circling dance of the Northern Diegueño. The dance is said by the Luiseño to have been introduced among the Indians of the interior as part of the Chungichnish ritual (b), 127.

[2] Lowie, (f), 279. The Moapa use the round dance in this connection.

[3] Powers, 366, 384.

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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2]

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*saksmt'dvédjd suddlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge.

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten.

Footracing (*tsnomdjelgd*, race by two; *tsnomdjeelgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1800 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:—

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[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 132° F. (outside 79°F.). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-130° F. G. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 160° [345] (id., 494).

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the nerves quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*sqol*) was a lump compounded of wool and piñon gum. The Pima use a ball of pomegranate gum or a gum coated core of straw and wood [171] (Hodge, id., 44).

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541 giña giyi giyi goldoŋ ávoŋhai isunéa heneyá (repeat)
789 gíñiŋkaŋgiagó nóŋágúbá isunéa hineyá
593 A second song is:—
[539] ai'i'i'ike'igo hasiáŋá hasiáŋá hasiáŋáŋáŋá yóñgai

[177] These songs were learned from the Navaho by Bob's paternal grand-
[648] father, who was captured in the canyon and lived among them for forty years. The Hopi helped him to escape on an occasion when he visited Oraibi. Horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from a standstill.

526 Only girls juggle (*djiydga*). Two or three balls are caught in one hand as they walk about. These are stones, peach stones, or small wild gourds.[1]

Boys play a game wherein they throw darts, made of a corncob on a stick, at a rolling tray basket.

Men and boys play a number of archery games. In one, two men roll a circular opuntia cactus, which has been placed in the fire so that the spines could be scraped off, from one to the other. A group of others standing opposite its path shoot at it. The target is called a mountain sheep, deer, etc. A variation consists in rolling a small barrel cactus, from which the spines have been removed, down a hill. The bow men, stationed along its course, shoot in succession as it passes.

In another game two opposing bands of bow men are seated fifteen yards apart. Beside each group there is an opuntia cactus raised obliquely on a pile of dirt so that it presents only one edge to the opponents.
[525] Arrows are wagered, which are won when the mark is hit in the center, which cannot be seen. A hit in the forward edge does not score. If the arrow strike the dirt pile, lifting the cactus, the archer has a second chance. Holding the cactus together with his bow in his left hand, he tosses it up and attempts to shoot the flying missile. An opponent may try to make him miss by strumming on a bowstring. He holds the bow
[534] horizontally between his lips near one end and taps the string with an arrow. This is the only occurrence of the musical bow among these people.

A similar game consists in shooting at two wads of bark set up about 25 yards apart. Arrows are stuck into the ground until they are required
[525] for use. The parties shoot alternately. A single hit wins the stakes.

Wrestling contests (*giguel'ôwigá*) are frequently indulged in by men and boys. Opponents approach crouching slightly and lock their arms about each other's body. The winner must hold his man flat on the ground. Striking, kicking, and biting are not permitted.

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[1] They do not choose pebbles.

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *toholwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *toholwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *toholwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother [856] removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body [827] and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead [826] in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing, or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good 854 weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

● [533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Here is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work,
866 but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and
868 carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment.
524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in
533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [5] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

581 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [223] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

561 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, 177 yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 568 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters [82] very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [528] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usually covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [53] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Palute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalised culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

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[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7, 1921.

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber.

763 125 143 825

Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that."

763 514 751

Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him.

756 776 [787]

Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit.

756

The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body.

755 756

Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 378) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Qimnî dem gen wî va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai îî gen wî va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The

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756
[755] woman lived in the west, the boy in the east. Each shaman had his own
[776] individual songs to attract his spirit. These were not given to a new
[533] shaman.

Another curing shaman received his power through a small bone that
756 had been given to him from a cave. He then had a dream in which the bone
787 talked to him and told him it would give him the power to become a shaman.
He kept the bone for two years, at which time a Walapai shaman took it a-
way on the pretense that it might otherwise be harmful to the Havasupai.
[533] However, the bone continued to appear in the Havasupai shaman's dreams
and taught him curing songs.

[89] The shaman who served as our informant had not been one during Spier's
day. He began about 1931 or 1932 when he started dreaming about it. These
dreams came to him not through his own desire, but because Pagiyova, a
localized mythical culture hero (Spier, 1928, 277) wanted it. This coin-
cided with a time when his mother was ill. During his dreams he didn't
see anyone, but heard an unidentifiable voice telling him what to do. Later,
after he no longer heard the voice, the spirit became visible. In a dream
the spirit took him through the air to Red Butte, south of Grand Canyon
village [where, incidentally, the informant was born]. He saw the spirit
in human form approaching, mounted on a white horse. The spirit dis-
mounted and shook hands, saying, "I am not a dead person, I am a man
just like you. Do you have any relatives who have died?" When the in-
formant replied in the negative, the spirit said, "A relative of yours died
and went northeast. Then he turned south and he is over at my place."
Our informant thought, "Maybe it's my brother," but he didn't tell the
spirit. The spirit then said, "There will be a new kind of sickness that will
come to everybody, white men and Indians. The sickness comes from the
[Sino-Japanese?] war they are having across the ocean. It will come to
the Indians first." When the spirit first shook hands he made "white lightning"
[533] enter the informant's upper left arm and this later aided his power. The
spirit then taught him to sing power songs and instructed him in shamanistic
ritual. He learned many curing songs and had to remember their meaning.
If he forgot, he would die. It took five or six years for him to become com-
petent. [I was unable to ascertain whether or not the informant had past
contacts with Navajo singers, who traditionally rode white horses.]

After he had become a shaman he visited the eastern spirit being
often, and thought he had been adopted by it. The spirit had made four
hands [method unknown]. Only the first of these hands, a right one, was
benevolent; the other three were left and were harmful. Sick people were
[155] "transported" [by this particular shaman] to the place in the east where the
hands were. If the patient chose the first hand to shake he would recover;
otherwise the illness would remain.

baby bottle"[volcanic bombs?]. The shaman gathered these and tied them in cloth. Then the people advised him to take one more, a smooth opaque white one that could be rubbed on patients' chests to eliminate sickness. The shaman returned with his rocks to Rain Tank and told "sickness that he didn't want it to be going around". The ground around turned white as though it were snow covered. The shaman awakened but later reported that he had felt the dream had not been complete. 756-787

The first spirit he had seen mounted on the white horse continued to come in dreams, teaching him new songs until he knew about twenty, each for a different illness. Errors in singing them would harm the patient. However, if the shaman realized his error he could correct it by beginning the song again. These songs followed a definite sequence, outlining the case history of the patient. The number of songs also increased in direct proportion to the severity of the illness. For one patient, our informant sang six songs and repeated them seven times on each of four nights. Patients were sung over for four nights if the illness was severe or if the spirit of a deceased shaman was suspected of attempting to exert counter-influence to the cure. In the example under consideration, the spirit of Rock Jones, a relative, was under such suspicion. 756 787 533● 755

The first night the shaman was not able to diagnose the illness. Even though he sang all night he made no attempt to contact his spirit until the second evening. If a shaman wished to communicate with his spirit he did so only at the end of the night's singing. He put his own spirit, plus that of a female, in the patient. The female spirit, one of the sky people[see p. 2], never dies and is thought to remain inside the patient so long as the shaman desires. In this instance the female spirit was invoked because the patient was a woman. If a woman wished to die the female spirit stayed with her a long time. Under other circumstances the shaman would invoke only his own spirit, which would remain inside the patient only until the conclusion of the treatment. Sometimes it would be inserted from the shaman's mouth, at other times from the head or arm. Our informant used both techniques, placing his hand on top of the patient's head and telling the spirit to enter, as well as blowing and sucking on the patient's throat. Additional sucking could be accomplished on the afflicted part of the body. 756 756 787

Various illnesses assumed specific form and color as they became apparent to the practitioner. These would first take on false, undiagnostic shapes in an attempt to trick the shaman, and were thought not to reveal their true form until the last song. For example, pneumonia was round, smokegray, and mixed with blood. Flu was round but blue and silver. It is worth recording, as an acculturational note, that less serious illnesses were reported to appear to the shaman in the form and color of playing 753 755 822

1753
755 cards: visions of Queens and Jacks would appear to flash on and off the
822 patient's chest.

756 Occasionally a shaman wore eagle down feathers in his hair while
755 curing. These were tied at the back of the head and hung loosely. Shamans
301 also put feathers and white paint on the patient. The paint, white clay ob-
302 tained near the village, was applied in dots or lines in varying designs ac-
cording to the illness. No special garments or other ceremonial appurte-
nances were worn by either shaman or patient.

755 Shamans usually practiced alone, but four lay singers would some-
756 times assist. They did not know the words of the shamans' songs, but
●[533] hummed the tune or rhythm. These assistants would participate only dur-
ing the first song, which was repeated four times. If a patient was consid-
ered very ill, however, the relatives might request an additional shaman to
sing. Once when our shaman informant was ill, he asked three other shamans,
including a Walapai, to sing for him. Parenthetically, he was not cured and,
according to him, his own spirit told him to consult an Anglo physician.
Shamans usually did not have the power to cure themselves or close relatives.

756 Our lay informants denied that females became shamans, although
[114] they reported one formerly among the Walapai. This is in agreement with
Spier (1928, 277) and Kroeber (1935, 185). Havasupais frequently had the
Walapai shamaness sing for them when they were visiting that area. How-
ever, our shaman informant knew of one elderly Havasupai woman who sang
over sick people. She did not effect cures by herself, but sang with male
shamans at their request.

Within the lifetimes of our informants no shamans had been killed for
failing to effect a cure. An aboriginal pattern for this seems clear, how-
ever. One shaman who lost a patient, and who was suspected of having used
a malevolent spirit, was hung by his neck from a mesquite tree while brush
piled under him was ignited.

242 It was thought that pictographs painted on cliff walls were done by
756 shamans with the intent to harm someone. Those in a rockshelter in Cat-
754 aract Canyon a few miles upstream from the village were considered es-
[172] pecially dangerous. [These are illustrated by Hiff (1954) and James (1911,
265). The site was a former Havasupai occupation shelter and has been
recorded in the archeological survey of the Museum of Northern Arizona as
NA 7306.] My lay informant who took me to it denied any knowledge of the
paintings. Our shaman informant believed that one individual who lost his
vision did so because he frequently passed by this point. [It should be
noted, however, that these pictographs are along the formerly heavily trav-
eled Topocoba trail to the plateau.]

756 Some informants believed that diarrhea was brought on through eating
755 spoiled meat. Game shamans, therefore, frequently were thought to be
533 effective in curing that malady. The so-called "diarrhea songs" referred
[723] to unspoiled, fat meat and the desire people had for it. No rattle accompaniment was used with these songs, which were usually repeated at least twice, though not always from the beginning. The songs were sung over both adults and children. During these songs the shaman (or, in the case of a baby, its father) would gently massage the patient's abdomen in an attempt to locate flatulent areas. The singer also would take ashes from the fire, rub them between his palms, and blow them to the east, exhaling audibly as he did so. This action was thought to remove any accompanying pain. (Diarrhea songs are no longer remembered.)

786 Another specialized shaman was one who could cure the bites of snakes,
533 scorpions and black widow spiders. Particular songs, no longer recalled,
[750] were sung to ease pain and to lull the patient to sleep. The shaman also cut the wound with an obsidian or flint blade and sucked the afflicted area. On such occasions, the shaman did not invoke his spirits. The songs, repeated four times, were considered sufficient.

756 Of some interest are the non-power-giving dreams of shamans. Our
787 shaman informant recalled several that appeared to him to be distinct from
[177] the dreams of lay people. They revealed data concerning the soul, life after death, and cosmology [but are tinged with acculturational elements]. Specifically, he denied an Anglo belief in heaven and hell because, in his dreams, he frequently saw the dead nearby rather than in the sky or elsewhere. He dreamed about deceased persons, both those whom he knew, such as his mother's mother, and those only about whom he had heard. Once he dreamed of a "white man" who lived beside the sun in the east. This man told people how to prosper, to obtain good clothing and land. In the west was a "dark man" who gave bad advice. These two quarreled frequently about what each told the Havasupai. After one such argument the "dark man" tried to put all the people in a dark place enclosed by a high wall but the "white man" shone light upon it. (See p. 3.)

The shaman also dreamed often of traveling through the sky. On these occasions he saw no sky people--only uninhabited deep canyons.

Once he dreamed of going under the ground. The earth was coal-black as were some people he saw there. He was afraid and wanted to faint, but with a long stick he removed a lid covering the shaft through which he had entered and he hurried away.

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would 343 sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 633 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the 343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription 343
ll was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841.
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush"[Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. [834]
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 137° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 88° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs 763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätahʔiyih, was sung, either by the [533] ●
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would [178]
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 13 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
● 633 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices [537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hónaga, Hónaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they

stood shuffling in place near the women's side, repeating the song, two or three times, before continuing to dance several minutes more. There appeared to be no signal to let the women know when the dance would end, and a few times the women followed the men to their side and were left standing when the men sat down. The women would giggle and run quickly to their chairs.

765 [533] [535]

On the whole, behavior of participants and spectators was respectful. Children occasionally moved around, but most slept throughout the funeral. At times, however, some of the young people in groups near the perimeter of the dance area talked and laughed as they drank coffee, and adults in the ceremony seemed not to pay close attention to the speeches. [A similar Walapai funeral that I attended at Hackberry, Arizona, in the summer of 1956 was far less subdued. There was much drinking on the part of the younger men and women who attempted to compete with the adult dances by singing and dancing "rock and roll" music. Frequent harangues by the older mourners did little to curb these semi-intoxicated actions. Otherwise, the Walapai and Havasupai funeral ceremonies were identical.] [71]

Shortly after midnight the men sang a song with a different time, and the dance consisted of a step, a pause, and a shaking or shimmying of the body followed by a step with the opposite foot. The women swung their bodies in time to the music and joined hands all along the line, holding them slightl forward from the body. The men usually did not join hands, although one young boy danced the entire evening with his right arm draped around Neil's neck.

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About 2:00 a. m., at the conclusion of one dance, Teddy danced sideways, using the round dance step. Followed by the men and then the women, he led the way around the area between the two rows of chairs, out the east end to the south. Here the dancers circled Clark and the other mourners who had stood up. After circling and singing several times, the dancers stopped and joined the wailing of the mourners. This was followed by a return of the dancers to their original position.

About 3:35 a. m. a rooster crowed. The sky was dark but filled with bright stars. There was no lightening of the eastern sky, but the people were stirred by a ripple suggesting relief. All night many had kept asking, "Tiva gal ga?," ("What is the time?").

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About 4:30 several people became very drowsy during a long speech by Arthur. In this he spoke philosophically about the Havasupai pantheon and their native religion. [539]

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 281-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 281-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáva although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáva and Gütégáma. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Hiff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 281) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 286; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

> "The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."

796 This indication was due not only to the dance form with the inclusion of a cen-
533 ter pole and the fact that some dancers seemed to be in a trance, but also
177 that Teyadjáva and Gatágama learned their songs from Southern Paiute ghost
dance advocates. One of our informants discussed this as follows:

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"A group of Supais crossed the Colorado River and went to St. George [Utah] because they heard about the dance that makes the dead come alive again. Teyadjáva during the night took some Paiute songs and made them [into] Supai songs. Supai Jack said that Teyadjáva didn't dream these [in contradistinction to Spier (1928, 264)] but during the night a Paiute came to his bed and made this song and told Teyadjáva, 'If you sing this song, you will find more songs added to it. I am the one that's giving songs to people that roam in this area.'

"Next morning, on their way home, Teyadjáva saw things like timber, mountains, waterholes and springs. These things came into his heart and from that, the person he saw gave him more, night or day, round dance songs. He could make them up, some way, but didn't understand how.

"From there he made up some danger songs like he hear thunder, lightning strike walls or tree; hits close to person; kills them. He made it into a song, lightning song, but he didn't want to use it; it's a danger song. He had many of those songs, but somehow he lost track of making better songs. He got sick by singing those things. Later on the man who had come to his bed kept watching wherever he goes, and he got witched from him, a medicine man or whatever he was. A medicine man sang over him and couldn't tell what was wrong. Finally he went to a Walapai medicine man to cure him. That medicine man said he saw two men: ' You make these songs until you make better songs. They're keeping track to see if you make better ones. Somehow they have witched you. I can't cure you.' From there he got worse and finally died. My father said when he went hunting with Teyadjáva he always saw things or even at home and always made new songs. He finally died with it.

"Supai Jack and Bert Wescogame stood on either side of Teyadjáva in the round dance and learned songs from him. He told Jack and Bert not to keep the songs after he died, because he died from something serious in the songs and

4/4 [i.e. The round dance associated with the harvest or peach dance contained a residue of ghost dance elements.]

the same might happen to them later on. 533 ● 539 177 796

"After he died no one sang Teyadjáva's songs for a round dance for quite a few years. Then M knew the songs. When he traveled to other tribes and they asked him for Supai songs, he sang Teyadjáva's songs. Later they thought these might be good songs so now that's all they sing for a round dance.

"I counted songs at the round dance when Supai Jack was leader. I counted 31 or 33 songs. I wanted to see how many songs Jack knew. Jack sang each song twice so the series would last all night. These were Teyadjáva's before Cátágima's were mixed with them. These are in Supai language. Jack said Teyadjáva had many more songs but this was all Jack remembered.

"Supai Jack and Teyadjáva lived together. They looked for horses and hunted together. That's how Jack heard him make up those songs right along.

"They say he did not have a good singing voice. That's why he picked Jack and Bert who both had good voices. He used to tell ladies not to get between him and Bert and Jack as it spoiled the songs. He always wanted just the three in one place together. They were close enough so he could whisper and tell them which one came next."

There are however, some indications that the Paiute songs used in the ghost dance of 1890 were different from those later made up by Teyadjáva.

"Men who went to St. George brought some Paiute songs home with them for ghost dance. Learned quite a few of them. At ghost dance they sang Paiute songs, did not sing Teyadjáva's songs. In the village they sang Paiute songs. By that time Teyadjáva was also singing his songs. Cátágima also was singing his own songs."

796 533 177

Apparently the Paiute ghost dance songs are almost forgotten and, hence, no longer used in the annual round dance. However, other nonmessianic Paiute songs are still in vogue.

We have some data relative to the association of the round dance and scalps (see also Spier, 1928, 331): "If Supai killed an enemy they cut the 535 727

535 head off [sic] and hung it up on a pole and made a round dance around it."
727 The songs for such an occasion were different from those delivered at other
●[533] round dances, and their words concerned the warriors' good fortune in killing the enemy who had come to kill Havasupai. Our informant referred to these as war songs. During these "victory dances" those whose relatives had been killed in an enemy engagement would dance around the pole shouting [not singing] and would shoot at the enemy's head with their arrows. They would shoot either from inside or outside the circle and repeat it every few minutes until the dance ended.

721 A sidelight concerning the claim that entire heads were taken is to
727 be seen in one informant's remembrance of a raid against the Yavapai.
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"One time a chief and some other people wanted to follow their enemies[who had raided Havasupai village] to their homes beyond Bill Williams Mountain, south where the enemy usually came from. They came to a water hole where it looked like there had been many home sites. Quite a few Havasupai were in the party. They rested their horses and watered there. Then they happened to see a man on a horse on a rise. They knew it was the enemy. He hollered and started down the other side. They knew his spotted horse was stolen from them. They rushed to their horses to follow him. Not far away they overtook him. They had good, fat horses but his was poor and run down. They killed this Apache man[for Apache, read Yavapai] opening his chest, spread it out and laid him flat on the ground. They took his head and tied it to the spotted horse's tail, high enough so they wouldn't lose it on the return trip. On this[north] side of Bill Williams Mountain in the timber the spotted horse was tired so they had to kill it--burned it. From there they packed the head on the tail of another man's horse. They came to Moki Tank. A family lived there. One old lady--her husband died--had a grown boy[who had been killed by Yavapai while out hunting]. They stopped there and put on a round dance with the head on a pole."

535 Spier (1928, 288) reported that masked dances were discontinued
[177] 20 years before his study. These dances, undoubtedly adapted from the Hopi, were called gidiiña yvma^{k}? (kachina dance).

Anyone who wanted to put on such a dance could request permission from the subchiefs. Both men and women participated, according to our

informants, making a total of 10 or more couples. [I would be inclined, however, to agree with Spier (1928, 266) who indicated that only men danced. It is probable that, as in Hopi kachina dances, men impersonated women.] They formed a single file, men and women alternating. At a signal from the leader the men and women formed separate lines, and the dance leaders danced outside of the two columns. [See Spier (1928, 267) for discrepancies here. Either or both versions could be correct.] The dance leaders would move to the rear, followed by couples in turn, as Spier (1928, 267) indicated, "much like a Virginia reel." Then one of the leaders danced again to the rear of the columns, and all of the participants returned to the single line, dancing away from the audience until they were out of sight. The dance step was similar to that of the Hopi, dancers moving their feet up and down in one spot, moving forward only when leaders started to the rear.

535 [014]

The songs were not Havasupai [our informants could not recall the language]. The purpose of the dance was to bring rain. The participants pretended to be "weather people" who came to visit "these round dance people." A chief talked to them saying, "We are glad you came and brought us this food [corn, pumpkins, melons carried by the women]. We need it. We like your weather. When you return, tell your people we like your weather." Then, in signs so as not to reveal his identity, the leader of the "weather people" would nod affirmatively. He would point to the sky and move his hands downward in a fluttering motion to indicate rain. With two fingers straddling another finger and making a circular motion he would indicate fat horses. With his hands describing a circular motion over his stomach he indicated that it was filled with food. Moving his hands upward he intimated growing grass and crops.

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Masks were not removed during the dance in order to conceal the identity of the participants, and children were led to believe they came from another tribe.

535 [532]

At the conclusion of the dance two of the masked impersonators indicated that they wished to play games and engage in foot races [an incorporation of the function of Hopi clowns]. A good runner from the audience would race them, attempting to gain sufficient distance to prevent the masked racers from striking him with whips. These were made of shredded yucca leaves tied together and were three to four feet long. Another masked dancer would stand at the finish line and distribute bread or peaches to the audience while an unmasked person sprinkled white paint or cornmeal on the dancers. [This is obviously the counterpart of the Hopi priest who acts as "father" of the kachinas during their performances.] The entire performance, dance and race, was repeated four times.

535 526 [177]

539 The reeds grew in the canyon at a place that was full of bones. So they didn't tell their mother where they were going but started out this way. They cut two long juniper trees; this kind grows straight, as long as canyon is wide now. They started down the canyon carrying the logs above their heads. When nearly to the springs of Havasu Creek the walls closed up but were held by the logs which wedged between them. So they came on down the canyon and got the reeds. The logs were still wedged in the cracks in old times, but have rotted out now. When the boys returned to their mother she got after them and said, "I knew you were going down there. That's why I didn't tell you the straight story. How did you get through?" But they didn't tell her anything.

3. Frog Rock

[115] [114] [823] [This story concerns a rock formation on top of the Redwall limestone near Supai village. It was narrated by two informants. Three others denied that any legend referred to the rock even though the Havasupai generally refer to it as "Frog Rock."]

The frog came from the ocean on the west looking for a good place to stay. He crossed the Colorado River below Needles, then spent four more nights of jumping around, playing close to the river. Then he took about a month more and he arrived in Havasupai Canyon. He was poised there ready to jump when he saw the river below. He was on the very edge of the rim when he turned to stone and could jump no more. Bagiova [a localized culture-hero] turned him to stone and made him stay right there for the Indians.

4. Origin of Menstruation

[533] [Some portions of this are sung. Squirrel and his daughter had a mythical home in a canyon off the Topocoba trail about 5 miles from Supai village. This is a longer version than that published earlier by Smithson (1959, 63).]

Squirrel and his daughter and Coyote lived together. The squirrel was a little older than the coyote; he was the coyote's uncle. The squirrel went hunting and brought in a deer. While Coyote was skinning it, he put his finger in the blood and flipped it on the inside of the girl's thigh. Coyote said to her, "Sister, you are menstruating. You can't eat the meat for four days." When he said that, the girl didn't believe him. Finally she grew angry; Coyote knew about menstruation but the girl didn't. She went to this side [north] of Seligman about 10 miles where cattle tanks are now. She brought a spring forth there with the femur of a bobcat; people used to eat bobcat.

12. Turkey (version II)

*539 [This is a shorter version of the previous story.]

Turkey built a big house where he lived with his wife. Turkey's wife said her grinding stone was no good. "I can't grind corn here. I'll have to go over to that neighbor's place. (The neighbor was a small bird with a white throat.) He has a stone that is rough and will grind good." She went to that place. Turkey followed her saying to himself, "I wonder what she does over there every day?" Turkey's wife went inside where Thu-tit was. Turkey peeked in through a hole and saw his wife and Thu-tit making love. Turkey returned home. Two or three days passed by and Turkey walked off toward the south for a long way. He looked around and saw that his wife was following. Turkey's wife caught up with him and Turkey began to sing. His song said, "I have to go to bad places. It is cold there. What are you doing, you follow me all the time? You've got to go back and see your friend. You told me Thu-tit has a good place, nice and warm. You've got to go back." He walked on toward the south but his wife still followed. A storm came up, windy cold. Turkey flew up to the middle of a pine tree. His wife stayed down below.

Turkey built a fire in the tree and made himself comfortable. His wife called out, "Come and get me." She kept calling this. After awhile she was quiet so he thought she was asleep and came down to get her. He tried to wake her but she was already dead, frozen. Turkey gathered wood and built a fire. He placed her body close to the fire. After awhile the heat expanded her belly and it burst open. Many birds and animals came out: lion, rattlesnake, lizard, snake and others. But there was just one turkey. Turkey got this little turkey and the other animals went off somewhere. They lived there for awhile and the young turkey grew up and flew away.

13. Fox and the Giant Bird

●[533] [This story is sung first, then spoken.]

In the beginning, when animals were human, there were two boy foxes. They lived in a camp without a mother, because their mother had been killed or carried off along with other people by enemy raiders. But the boys had been overlooked.

The boys wondered where their mother had gone. Along in the evening the boys were hungry. The smaller one was still in the cradle. The older one was looking in all directions wishing for his mother to show up. The

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15. Gila Monster and Hunter Hawk

(The entire story is sung first, then repeated in speech, sung again, and spoken a fourth time. Sometimes it is referred to either as Gila Monster or Hunter Hawk.)

The hawk was camped alone. A small bird came to tell him that Gila Monster had killed his relatives. Mountain Lion and Wolf and other relatives. The relatives were sharpshooters, but they were killed. South of Walapai Mountain (South of Kingman) was Gila Monster's home. The small bird crossed the desert and came to the edge of some timber where Hawk was living on a high ridge toward Hackberry. The bird cried to the hawk. The hawk asked what was wrong. The bird didn't reply but kept crying with tears running. He finally told him, "All of your uncles were killed by Gila Monster." The hawk didn't believe anyone had nerve enough to touch lions or wolves because they were powerful and he didn't think Gila Monster had killed them with rain. So the next day he went on as usual hunting like nothing had happened. The bird was there when the hawk returned at evening, wanting Hawk to say something so he could take the word back. One morning Hawk asked the bird how come Gila Monster had been able to kill lions and wolves who were so much stronger than Gila Monster. But the bird was still crying as he was afraid of the hawk. The bird told him that one morning Gila Monster had rounded up his men and told them if they ran into any deer he wanted them to make a deer drive and chase them so the lions and wolves would follow the trails. Sharpshooters would wait there and kill the deer so they wouldn't have to pack the meat home. The lions and wolves were sharpshooters, so Gila Monster told them to wait along the trails for the deer, but Gila Monster wanted the main trail for himself because most deer came that way. He told the lions and wolves when they saw the deer coming they should leave it up to Gila Monster to do the shooting. A big buck came along the edge of the timber. They all saw it come up toward where Gila Monster was waiting. But somehow one of Lion's or Wolf's boys hid out in front of Gila Monster and when it came close they had first shot at it. When it ran close by Gila Monster it fell and died. They butchered it and had a fuss over the hide. They stretched it. Gila Monster claimed the hide and said he owned the place so it belonged to him and he put it to one side. Wolf's or Lion's boy went over and took the hide away from Gila Monster. They quarreled and got into a fight and killed the Gila Monster. This is what the small bird told the hawk. After Gila Monster died, Lion and Wolf packed the meat and hide back home. Just before they reached home a dark cloud appeared and spread over the sky; rain and hail fell. The hail was twice as big as a thumb. It knocked them down and killed or drowned them all. The small bird told the hawk this.

*539 So Coyote built a rock house and said, "Snake, I'm through. I think this is the kind you want." Snake said, "No, this isn't the kind. I want one where the shade moves from one side to the other."

Coyote thought hard but didn't know what kind Snake wanted, but said he would try again. Coyote went to a cottonwood tree, dug it up by the roots and took it over and planted it. The sun moved across the sky and the shade shifted from side to side. Snake said, "This is the kind I want." Snake began to move to that tree and the people assembled. Snake said he was ready to start the song, but his body was still moving far away. Somewhere someone saw it was still moving. Coyote started to cut the snake in the middle so someone could pass through. Snake knew they were cutting him in half. So Snake made up his mind that he wouldn't sing the good songs he knew but would pick out the top parts of songs. So he made a salt song to begin with. [These salt songs were Mohave. They could be sung at any time although today few Havasupais know them. Some are funeral songs sung by, but unintelligible to, the Havasupai.] The people all sang together with him. [533] [177]

Then the chief of the people got sick and died. Before he died he said he wanted the people to burn [cremate] him.

While the people were singing, everyone liked the songs, and women came, too. The kids at home were crying because their mothers had gone to hear Snake. Some people were quarreling. Snake said, "This is a round dance song. It looks like people are going to have trouble and be mad." The chief told them not to bury him, but burn him. The chief said, "I am afraid of Coyote. He is a person-eater. If you bury or throw me away he will dig me up and eat me. South of here is a mountain with a fire in it. Ask Coyote to go there and fetch a burning coal to start my funeral fire. But you keep the fire here and burn me while he is gone so he won't know. I'll burn until I am ashes and I'll turn into a plant. Where my body is burned, pour water on the ashes and keep it wet. Then the plant will grow and will be called corn."

When the chief died, the people sent Coyote off for coal. People started the funeral fire when Coyote was a little way off. People stood around and poked the fire to make it burn faster so it would be gone before Coyote returned.

Coyote ran about halfway, then looked back and saw smoke. He guessed what it was so he ran back. All was burned except the heart, lungs, and liver. People were poking it around as the chief had told them. It smelled good to Coyote, who ran up to the circle. Two short men were in the circle so Coyote planned to get over them. He said nothing, but jumped over them, the badger and porcupine, and grabbed the heart. He went off still running and ate the heart.